1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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It should be mentioned that no fire was lit near the corpse or water left by it when the living deserted the cave. Among the majority, including the two wildest groups of Veddas, there is no avoidance of any of the property of the dead man, and the contents of his betel bag would be eaten directly after his death, but among the members of another group of Veddas (Henebedda), who must be regarded as pure-blooded although their system of magic shows Sinhalese influence, the betel bag, unless it were a very good one, would be left with the corpse, and in any case its contents would not be eaten, but left near the dead man. The areca nut cutter and lime box, which during life were always carried in the bag, would not be left with the corpse, but before they were used by the living, measures were taken of which the avowed design was to render these objects harmless. Thus the old headman of the Henebedda Veddas exposed his father's lime box and areca cutters under a bush for a period which was certainly longer than ten but probably less than thirty days. It was necessary to do this, since if these objects had been used immediately, the individuals using them would probably have contracted the same illness as that from which the dead man suffered, and on further questioning the old man explained that the *yaka* producing the illness from which his father had died would for some time, and in some way which he could not define, remain connected with the chewing apparatus which the dead man had used constantly during his last illness.

At Bandaraduwa we were able to ascertain what was done after the death of a man named Tuta which had occurred in a neighbouring settlement two days before our arrival. The grave was dug by two of the man's brothers who carried the body to it; nothing was buried in the grave, not even the dead man's

was always ready to show us the place in which...they had buried. When we proceeded to dig up the skeleton they for the most part looked on with interest and without showing the least sign of excitement, and when it was necessary to pick all the small hand and foot bones out of the sandy soil they were perfectly ready to assist. We were always told willingly who was buried in a particular spot. The place of burial was always shown us by the relatives of the deceased...thus in Mudugala near Ommi a father showed us the grave of his daughter and in the Nilgala district a son led us to the grave of his father." *Op. cit.* p. 494.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann 2-4 (1907-1908) 1911
AXS Vedda AXS

Besides the important part in the Vedda cult of the dead played by the propitiation of the *Nae Yaku*, and of the *yaku* of certain other Veddas such as Kande Wanniya who as *yaku* have attained to special importance (approaching that of culture heroes in other forms of belief), there is a certain feeling of reverence for a host of unnamed *yaku*. Little attention is paid to these but, since it is stated that they too were once men, the suggestion may be hazarded that they represent the *yaku* of the forgotten dead. These *yaku*, although all around in the jungle, are in some instances thought of as vaguely attached to special localities, especially to glades in the forest, unusually large trees, and above all large rocks and rocky hilltops. The *yaku* of rocks and hilltops, indeed, tend to become named, taking the name of the hill they inhabit; even among the less civilised Veddas they are sometimes identified with the *yaku* of Vedda headmen who have lived on or near the hills. On the other hand among the more sophisticated Veddas these *yaku* tend to become less and less the spirits of dead Veddas, and finally, under Tamil influence, are thought of as dangerous spirits, immigrants from beyond the Ocean, each of whom with a female of his own species haunts the hilltops and sends disease. Somewhat akin to these *yaku* in their less dangerous forms are the *kiriamma* (literally milk mothers, i.e. grandmothers), the *yaku* of Vedda women, generally the wives of Vedda headmen or chiefs, many of whom are thought of as haunting the sides and tops of hills where there are rocks and springs. They are sometimes jealous of people gathering honey—indeed there is a tendency to avoid rocky mountain tops on their account—but may be placated by a charm, though occasionally a little honey is left for them with a muttered *kapau kiriammala*—Eat O Kiriammaa. Although they retain the fondness for children which they felt in their lifetime they not infrequently send sickness, at least among the more sophisticated Veddas.

A few *kiriamma* have become rather important *yaku*, notably an old woman of the Unapane clan now known as Unapane Kiriammaa, but such *kiriamma* do not appear to be especially associated with rocky or hilly sites.

We are now in a position to discuss the possible evolution of

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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The names of certain spirits peculiar to certain hills and rocks were known; they were said not to be worshipped, although they were looked upon with awe and respect as they were believed to cause sickness.

These spirits are the Maha Yakini who are especially associated with the hills Nuwaragala, Walimbagala and a rock called Kalumal Ela. The chief of the Maha Yakini is the Maha Kiriamma, and the other Maha Yakini are her attendants. Although associated with rocks and hill-tops they are not invoked before taking honey in these places. It was stated that the Maha Yakini were formerly living people—old women—and that they were especially fond of children and might even steal them. It is for this reason that infants are protected by an arrow struck in the ground, and it is clear that something of their character as old Vedda women still survives in spite of their generally more or less unfriendly attributes.

Concerning the Maha Kiriamma nothing definite could be learnt: our informant had heard it said that she had been invoked in the old days, but knew nothing of this himself. Handuna said that what little knowledge they had of the Maha Kiriamma had travelled to them from the Bintenne Veddas near Horaborawewa[1].

In the Sitala Wanniya community, therefore, the second stratum is well developed and the third is indicated. The second and third strata, though probably not recently introduced, are, however, entirely subsidiary to the primitive cult of the friendly dead.

The Bandaraduwa community is one in which the second stratum is so highly developed that at first sight it appears dominant, for after a death offerings are made to the Buddhist priest, but this is only done as an additional means of propitiation of the *Nae Yaku* who are still considered of the first importance, to whom an offering is made on the seventh day after death. Further, Kande Yaka is still closely associated with the *Nae Yaku* and is invoked with them, but he is no longer formally regarded as the Lord of the Dead, that function has been usurped by Kanda Swami or Skanda known to these Veddas as "the Kataragam

[1] An invocation to the Maha Kiriamma (No. XXXIII), a fragment of a much longer formula (No. XXXIX), unknown to our informants, is given in Chapter X.

114 p. 135, but it may be noted that Bailey clearly did not know of the existence of shamanistic ceremonies and we have little doubt that the information given him, which he took to refer to dreams, in fact described the experiences of possession. The "few sticks...with a branch thrown over them" are clearly remains of the *mastu* upon which the offerings are placed.

775 753 The *Maha Yakino* are the spirits of old Vedda women, the chief of whom is the Maha Kiriamma, who, as Bailey pointed out in 1863, is more feared than loved, and in many cases is supposed to send sickness. It was said that her name was Anami and that she lived at Okegala near Alutnuwara, dying of old age; but in spite of these circumstantial details, which are perhaps due to the teachings of Tissahami, neither the name nor the memory of her husband has survived.

775 Unapane Kiriamma is another important *Maha Yakini* who lived near Unapane[1].

Unapane Kiriamma also gives luck in honey getting, and it is thought that she in some way causes bees to build good combs, in fact, all the *Maha Yakino* are associated with rock honey from the belief that they especially affect the rocky crests of hills[2].

Although the *Maha Yakino* are looked upon as the spirits of old Vedda women and are reputed to show their fondness for children by kidnapping them, they are regarded with considerable awe, for they are considered to send disease, and it is necessary to make an offering to them in order that this may be removed. This is generally done at the *kolamaduwa* ceremony described on p. 268. With the exception of the

[1] She is known to the jungle Sinhalese of the Vedirata, who state that with her husband Unapane Kaira Waaniya she made the Unapane paddy fields. She is particularly invoked by barren women, and those who have brought forth still-born children, for increase of cattle and milk, to prevent cattle being taken by leopards or damaging the crops and to give good harvests. [842]

[2] Offerings of honey made to the *Maha Yakino* are described elsewhere. The belief that the *Maha Yakino* are especially associated with hills is also found among the Sinhalese of the Vedda country, who especially associate these spirits with hills on which springs are found or on which streams arise. One such hill near Nilgala, which at the end of the rains has many small streams running down its face, is known as Yakini Ela and is especially associated by the neighbouring Sinhalese with the *Maha Yakino*, who they say can be heard moving about the crest at night. [823]

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

Yaku, while at nearly all the village Vedda communities Indigollae Yaka was said to bring the *Nae Yaku*. Certainly Gale Yaka, Indigollae Yaka and Kande Yaka were all known by name, but there seemed much confusion between them all: perhaps Gale Yaka had become Lord of the Dead as he was invoked before the *Nae Yaku* in the same ceremony; Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were invoked at a separate ceremony. No hint was given us that Gale Yaka and Indigollae Yaka were names for the same spirit, but of course this may have been so. The information that Indigollae Yaka was extremely powerful both to bring evil upon man and to help them to get game was, however, volunteered and, as already mentioned, some old, specially valuable beads were kept to be offered to him.

Gale Yaka was also invoked to give success when gathering honey; he appeared to be associated with a certain rock near Mahaella, and we were told that beads were worn during the ceremony.

The Maha Kiriamma was said to be one of the most powerful of the *Maha Yakino*, a class of female spirits who were said to send sickness[1]. Unapane Yakini (Unapane Kiriamma) was another *yakini* of the same class who was thought to live at Omunigala. Here as among many other groups of Veddas the *Maha Yakino* were associated with hill tops, and it was the custom for people collecting the honey of the rock bee to leave a piece of the comb *in situ*, saying, "Eat, O Kiriamma[2]."

When the *Maha Yakino* are invoked to cure sickness a basket is used in which are put a bead necklace and bangles and the leaves of a *na* tree. The shaman becomes possessed and raises the basket above the patient's head and prophesies recovery. The leaves are subsequently thrown away, but the beads and bangles are preserved for the *Yakino*. Presumably this is the origin of the similar or identical use of these objects in the *kolamaduwa* ceremony which, however, appears to be of Sinhalese origin.

[1] Nothing was ever said to cause us to suspect that she was connected with Gale Yaka or Indigollae Yaka.

[2] Kiriamma is in the plural in the Sinhalese, showing that all the *Maha Yakino* in the neighbourhood were invoked to partake.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

being eaten by the community. A man becomes a *yaka* directly he is dead, nothing is buried with him and the contents of his betel pouch are used in the ordinary way. The *Nae Yaku* ceremony is held some days after death, one, or according to another informant two, *aude* being used.

At Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle neither Bilindi Yaka nor Bambura Yaka was known, and these two *yaku* were also unknown at Dambani where, however, the Belligala Arachi said that Kande Yaka gives luck in hunting. This has been confirmed by Mr Hartshorne's notes, so that although our informants at Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle stated that they did not know this *yaka*, too much stress must not be laid upon this.

The other two classes of *yaku* invoked at Dambani are tree and rock *yaku*. Both send sickness and are invoked with dancing and offerings to remove it, the stone magic described on p. 143 being used to determine which *yaka* is responsible for the disease. The most important rock *yaku* are Mawaragala Yaka, Rerangala Yaka, Barutugala Yaka, and Mehaluku Yakini. The latter is associated with a rock Batugala near Alutnuwara, the others with the peaks whose names they bear.

Two tree *yaku* were mentioned, each having a number of attendants. These tree *yaku* are named Na Gaha Yaka (Na tree Yaka) and Bo Gaha Yaka (Bo tree Yaka), that is to say they are called after the trees with which they are associated, and the Arachi pointed out that tree *yaku* habitually lived in trees of the species after which they are named. We could not discover any facts suggesting that these tree *yaku* were considered to represent the life of the tree.

HORABORAWEWA.

The surroundings and physical characters of the Veddas of Horaborawewa have been described on p. 53. The shaman is the local Sinhalese headman, who stated that the same *yaku* are invoked by Veddas and Sinhalese alike. Seren (Riri) Yaka is the most important *yaka*, Wiloya Yaka and Kalu Yaka are also known, and it was stated that the latter spirit was also called Wangata Yaka. Our informant had not heard of Kande Yaka or Bilindi Yaka, and it was certain that the worshipped *yaku*

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

the present shaman was called Suwanda, and no dance to his spirit was held till a long time, perhaps as much as a year, after his decease. But when the shaman's mother became ill he was invoked and offerings were made, with the result that the patient got well. In connection with this it was explained that it was not unusual for the *Nae Yaku* to make even their nearest and dearest relatives ill for the sake of the offerings they would then receive.

It was stated that the *Nae Yaku* are not allowed to kill people but only to make them ill, permission to do this and to accept offerings being obtained from Kataragam Deyo, Saman Deyo, and Numeriya Deyo. We could not ascertain with certainty whether the *Nae Yaku* have anything to do with sending luck in hunting, but if they are concerned in this they clearly play quite a subordinate part. When taking honey a little is left at the foot of the tree, this was said to be for the *Nae Yaku*, who may be called to it by some such expression as "here is honey, be pleased to eat[1]."

A female spirit Elle Yakini is invoked when a woman is pregnant, to protect mother and child; beads which belong to the shaman, who seems to keep them for this purpose, are placed on a piece of cloth and invocations are spoken. After childbirth a bower apparently resembling the *kolamaduwa* is made, Elle Yakini is invoked and an offering of food made to her. At the time of our visit it was said that a dance would shortly be held to Elle Yakini in thanks for having given a woman, who at first had difficulty in nursing her child, an abundant flow of milk. Elle Yakini will be invoked with an ordinary hunting arrow, and when possessed by her the shaman will gasp out some such formula as this "Now I have made you well, remember me in future." Offerings would not be made to Elle Yakini until her help was again needed.

ELAKOTALIYA.

The most important spiritual agencies are the gods and demons who are worshipped at Kalukalaeba. Indigollae Yaka is said to give good luck to hunters, for neither Kande Yaka,

[1] The geographical position of Kalukalaeba allows the Veddas of this group no opportunity of collecting rock honey.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

a piece of flesh is offered to the *Nae Yaku* who are called by name, and then the Veddas eat it themselves.

Vihara Deyo is considered to send sickness, and he is invoked to make men whole again. Rice is cooked with milk usually obtained from the Tamil village of Horawila, and this with betel and areca nut is put upon a *maesa*. Only the shaman dances, and after the ceremony the offering is eaten by the whole community, including the sick man. Our informant did not know how the *yaka* or *deyo* causing the sickness was discovered, that being left to the shaman.

YAKURE.

The important spiritual agencies are:—Gange Bandar Deyo, Genikandia Deyo, Palugamman Deyo, Vihara Deyo, Mangara Deyo. Our informants knew of Indigollae Yaka but did not know if he ever was a man or had always been a spirit. Nothing was known of Kande Yaka, Bilindi Yaka, or Bambura Yaka. Dead shamans are thought to become *yaku*, and it is the spirits of these people who are the *Nae Yaku*: the fate of the spirits of ordinary folk is uncertain, but they do not become *Nae Yaku*. The *Nae Yaku* are danced to and invoked with the other *yaku* in order to cure sickness, but apparently they are not considered particularly important. A *maesa* is made and a cloth put over it, and on it are laid flowers of many kinds, betel leaves and areca nuts. Incense is burned before these offerings, in front of which the shaman dances facing the east. In some instances the *maesa* is built inside the temple, the shaman holds a cloth in his hand and a pot of rice cooked in milk is placed by the *maesa* on a rice pounder[1]. This is not tasted during the dance, but is eaten afterwards by the shaman and the sick man and other individuals of the community[2].

Kataragam Deyo is invoked especially to protect the chena, and at harvest an offering is made which is afterwards eaten as at Elakotaliya.

[1] It must be remembered that Yakure is a great cattle breeding centre.

[2] This is an interesting contrast to the practice which Mr Parker informs us prevails in the south of the island, where food given to spirits is not eaten at all but is exposed in the jungle or some deserted place. The fact that at Yakure food offered to spirits, many of whom are of Sinhalese or Tamil origin, is eaten, is clearly a remnant of the Vedda belief that the spirits invoked are in the main beneficent.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

Mangara Deyo is invoked to protect cattle. About a month before our visit a nephew of the shaman suffered from headache and fever and woke up in the middle of the night in a great state of alarm. It was ascertained by stone augury that Mangara Deyo had sent the sickness, offerings were made to him, and the youngster speedily recovered.

There are no dances at a man's death or invocations to the spirits of the dead, nor did there appear to be any particular spirit who gave luck in hunting, indeed it seemed that game was little sought, the whole activity of the community being concentrated on cattle breeding.

The temple of Mangara Deyo is a small bare hut, with the roof projecting a few feet beyond that wall in which the door is cut. The inside of the temple is quite bare except for a narrow wooden rack about a foot wide which runs round the two side and back walls at a height of about four feet from the ground. In one corner of this was a pile of *aude* of all shapes and sizes which were said to belong to Mangara Deyo.

ROTAWAEWA.

Mr G. W. Jayawardene writes as follows concerning the beliefs of the Tamankaduwa "Veddas" described on p. 56. "They regard Adukganna Hulawali Yaka and Vedi Yaka as the important *yaku*. Adukganna Hulawali Yaka is the spirit to whom they look to be cured of sickness. When any one is ill he or she or someone on their behalf puts aside one or two cents which are wrapped in a clean piece of cloth and from each house an offering of food is made. Vedi Yaka is the spirit they look to for help in getting game. When an animal is killed the heart is taken and roasted and offered on a stick with the end split into four to hold the heart under a tree." Commenting on this Mr B. Horsburgh writes, "Adukganna Hulawali Yaka is the spirit of a Vedda who was killed by King Mahasena for refusing to leave Minneriya tank when he was going to restore it. The name Adukganna Hulawaliyaka means Hulawali Yaka who takes the *adukkuwa* or present of food (from the offering made to him). He is only seen in dreams,

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

prevalence among the Sinhalese of magic having for its object the production of disease and death. Even the Henebedda Veddas, who have adopted a number of Sinhalese charms against animals, do not believe in this form of magic. The presence of a woman with wasting of both legs and contracture, the result of a long-standing ulcerative process of obscure origin which developed spontaneously, enabled this to be tested.

Although we discussed this woman's condition with a number of Veddas it was only once suggested, and then very doubtfully, that it might have been due to Sinhalese *kuniyam* magic[1], and it was clear that to the community generally this woman's disease was simply an accident, the origin of which they did not understand and did not trouble about.

Though Veddas, and especially Vedda women, are extremely shy there is no belief in the evil eye, or in the danger of being "overlooked."

Charms protective against Animals.

The bear is the only animal that the Veddas really fear, and there is no doubt that a number of Veddas and jungle-dwelling Sinhalese are mauled each year, indeed, at least one man in each community that we visited bore the marks of the bear's paws. Bear's flesh is not eaten and we doubt if Veddas ever voluntarily attack a bear, though there is no doubt that they sometimes kill one that has attacked them. Hence, the bear is called the "enemy" and his name is seldom mentioned nor is he represented among the rock paintings at Pihilegodagalge although the leopard, who steals the Vedda dogs and is hated in consequence, is represented. When questioned on the subject our male informants said nothing, but a number of women looked surprised and one said quite decidedly that no one would paint a bear. The words used in speaking of the bear are of

[1] That the *kuniyam* idea was foreign to the one Vedda who suggested it, was proved by the results of further questioning, when our informant gave an outline of one of the commonest Sinhalese beliefs as to the method of preparation and action of *kuniyam* charms. The reference to *kuniyam* in one of the "Vedda charms" published by Mr De Zoysa (*Journal Ceylon Branch R. A. S.*, Vol. VII, 1881, p. 103), cannot be taken to invalidate our conclusions, for many of these charms show undoubted Sinhalese influence.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

forest near the hunter to make him believe that the game he is following has run away. 796 782 773

Bedi Holaman Vedda, the *yaka* who breaks sticks and causes dead branches to fall and so frighten game away.

Kili Mas Vedda, the *yaka* of the Vedda who cut up the animal whose flesh and blood were used at the first *avana*.

Polu Mas Vedda, who smoked part of the meat of this animal.

Melihi Vedda, the *yaka* who blinds hunters so that they cannot track the wounded game.

Ahuru Gahana Vedda, the Vedda who first snapped his fingers to call his dogs.

Ihurun Gahana Vedda, the Vedda who first whistled to his dogs to come hunting.

These eleven *yaku* are considered strong enough to kill folk and to send sickness; it appeared to us that the individuals of this group were not carefully differentiated but rather regarded as one power. [753]

The Korala of Bakiella who has already been mentioned said that a leaf cone (*goṭuwa*) containing blood was placed on a heap of leaves with flesh from the throat, tongue and ears of the kill and the whole offered to the 64,000 Maralu Yaku and 64,000 Kadawara Yaku. The leaf cone is a distinctly Sinhalese feature and the ceremony described by the Korala had become entirely Sinhalese in character. This is borne out by the invocation which was written down for us by the Korala. 796 782 177 539

Atu avanī lī dena mantraya Kaḍawara Rīri Yakaṭa Yakinniṭa.

Vīṭāla nuwara sināpoti bisawun wahansēge hradaya palā bihi unu Kaḍawēra Riri Yakshayā Yakshiniṭa atu awanak aetun koṭu awanak aetun, amu mas amu riri aetun.

Adat mama aṇḍagasā kaepa kera dennī. Mama yana issaraṭa rubera au munayak genādiṇ, ellī pāḍu kera dīlā, veḍī munī is(sara)ṭa kera dīla, amaren giyat (a) mareṇ piṭat wilā, marana paṭhera dīlā, waessī langaṭa mīden ennā wāgē, kambe kanuweṭa magul aetek baenda palikera wāge, ella pāḍu (ka) ra deṇḍa Kaḍawera Riri Yakshayā Yakshīgen warami.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

us in danger, sickness etc.' When we enquired whether their dead lived on as spirits he replied, they did not consider whether the departed were living or dead, they were just spirits, in Tamil *sami* or *dewi*, in Sinhalese *yako*; all spirits were alike, neither good nor bad. Another coast Vedda named Patiniya told us that their religion was that of the Tamils. In memory of their dead, whom they called *yako*, they cooked rice and ate it; they invoked the *yako* in sickness, etc.[1]"

Just as Kapalpei sent sickness, so death was also attributed to him, but perhaps not epidemics, for it appeared to be generally considered that a single death would satisfy him for the time, so that it would be days or weeks before he would be expected to send sickness or death again.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 498.

2:Bailey G-5 (ca. 1854) 1863
AX5 Vedda AX5

wildest Veddahs are without an "instinct of worship." They believe that the air is peopled by spirits, that every rock and every tree, every forest and every hill, in short every feature of nature, has its *genius loci*; but these seem little else than mere nameless phantoms, whom they regard rather with mysterious awe than actual dread. 776

Such appears to be the form which the superstitions of every savage tribe naturally assume,—the necessity for a belief in something more than human, imparting to the commonest objects a supernatural character. But besides this vague spirit-worship, they have a more definite superstition, in which there is more of system. This is the belief in the guardianship of the spirits of the dead. Every near relative becomes a spirit after death, who watches over the welfare of those who are left behind. These, which include their ancestors and their children, they term their "néhya yakoon," kindred spirits. They describe them as "ever watchful, coming to them in sickness, visiting them in dreams, giving them flesh when hunting." In short in every calamity, in every want they call on them for aid; and it is curious that the shades of their departed children, "bilindoo yakkoon," or infant spirits, as they call them, are those which they appear most frequently to invoke.* 776 775 769

It is a pretty belief, and contrasts favourably with the superstitions of the Kandyans, who have spirits enough in their system, but almost all thoroughly malignant, and needing constant propitiation. But the Veddah spirit-world is singularly free from evil. I can find only one *absolutely* malignant spirit in it whom they really fear;† though, like all savages, they have an undefined awe of the nameless spirits whom they believe to haunt the darkness. The shades of their ancestors and of their children seem to be purely benevolent. The ceremonies with which they invoke them are few as they are simple. The most common is the following. An arrow is fixed upright in the ground, and the Veddah dances slowly round it, chanting this invocation, which is almost musical in its rhythm. 769 776 782

"Mâ miya, mâ miy, mâ deyâ'
Topang koyihetti mittigan yandâ'h!" [539]

* They also speak of them as "witera yakkoon," "child-spirits." They seem to prefer their great-grandmother (maha kiri amma) to the rest of their defunct ancestors; but I cannot ascertain any cause for their preference for the old lady. I may, however, be wrong in describing it as a preference. It may be the reverse, for she is invoked chiefly in cases of sickness, when the patient is supposed to be suffering from the malignity of a spirit. [753]

† Awiramada Yakko, who especially injures women, lying wait for them in the forest.

4: Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
AX5 Vedda AX5

165 the other hand, the mortality would be very considerable among the offspring. This mortality, when infantile, would generally be among the first born and last born, owing to maternal immaturity in the first case and constitutional depletion in the last.

842 On the question of sex I found that the prevalent idea was
593 that if a wife was not thoroughly obedient to her husband she would invariably give birth to females, and it was only complete subjection to the husband's will that could secure a preponderance of males.

I could get no information on the subject of barrenness or sterility.

776 As regards the religion of the Veddas previous to their
782 modernization, it appears that they believed in certain "Yakko," who exercised certain influences for good or evil. There was no conception of a Supreme Creator. On the other hand, the "Yakko" possessed, in common with humanity, a tendency to favour; so that it was always possible to secure its influence in return for special molifying ceremonies. Thus, by certain incantations, ceremonial offerings, or honorific declarations, the Yakko who exercised specific powers could be induced to subtend influence to the advantage of the individual then desiring it. Thus, the Yakka who guarded the deer might be induced to direct the deer to come within the reach of the Vedda's bow and arrows. On the other hand, another Yakka might be propitiated so as to render the hunter invisible to the leopard, so that the hunter would escape harm.

789 Special incantations were supposed to render an individual
224 successful in the chase, so that his aim would be deadly, or that more game would come his way.

● 753 Again, disease or sickness was the direct outcome of certain
843 malign Yakko, who could be propitiated, and this was specially to be considered when a woman was pregnant, so that the evil might be diverted from the unborn child.

241 I was not able to discover from my informant if the Veddas in their primitive times had any definite form of agriculture. It is certain that they were acquainted with rice, but I could not ascertain how it was procured.

4:Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
AX5 Vedda AX5

I remarked that while walking through the jungle, though provided with a knife, Dissan Hamy rarely used it to cut away any intercepting branch or creeper, these being invariably bent to one side by the hand. 481

I observed this custom many years ago when travelling through a distant village called Uda Wellawey at the foot of the Haldummulla hills, and I understand it is to prevent persons from finding a hunter's trail.

I made inquiry, in addition to direct observation while exploring the Vedda country, as to the prevailing diseases among the inhabitants, and what was done as regards remedies. The result of my investigation led me to conclude that the commonest disease among adults was fever, but I could get no statistics on which I could rely to form an opinion as to the percentage this particular disease afforded as compared with others. 164

It was, however, difficult to discriminate in what proportion of fevers typhoid was to be regarded, as I found in many cases the people did not know the difference. Dysentery appears to be well known, and is locally called "Le-pachchane," but I was told that it was not nearly so common as fever. Fever is not common as compared with the prevalence of that disease in the Tamankaduwa District.

Venereal, I am told, is unknown, and probably for reasons I gave earlier in this Paper. It occurs, however, more in the neighbourhood of civilized centres. I did not see a single instance of goitre, or of elephantiasis, though I cannot suppose the latter is unknown. I found numerous cases of sores on the feet and legs of both adults and children, but these were explained as being in all cases due to accidental injuries. Bronchitis, however, is common, more especially in children, who also appear to be commonly troubled with anæmia, which may or may not be directly due to intestinal parasites.

As regards treatment, I found that the remedy was invariably based on the theory that diseases may be divided into two great classes—heating or inflammatory, and the opposite—therefore the cure was to be found in those specifics which were opposed to these two heads of causation. For example, if a man had a violent cold, the "milk" of the cocoanut could 753 757

4: Lewis N-5 (ca. 1906-1918) 1919
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753 757 not be drunk. Again, in case of fever a decoction would be given of a number of vegetable productions that were *believed* to be cooling. I may here mention that when questioned as to the exact effect any one of these ingredients would specifically bring about, I could get no clear answer. I found that [278] both *Cassia auriculata* and *Evolvulus alsinoides* were regarded as most beneficial in fever, but I failed to find an answer as to their direct action. Equally *Munronia pumila* would be considered as a most valuable medicine for fits, as well as fevers.

[755] Charms and incantations appear to be more important than medicines with the people.

I found that castor oil was appreciated and its action understood, but it is curious to note that it is supposed to be effective by outward application, as well as inward. Generally speaking, I found that the local knowledge of our plants was very wide, and it would be difficult to find a plant of any use that the people could not correctly name.

137 824 In some cases where a plant was rare, I found that no name could be given to it; as, for instance, I obtained a few examples of *Centranthera procumbens*, but the people had no acquaintance with its name whatever. Nor did I find names invented in order to afford answers to my questions: it was a case of giving the right answer, or expressing ignorance.

273 I might mention incidentally, that though our familiar Kitul (*Caryota urens*) is well known, I found the people equally unacquainted with toddy or jaggery, except as *purchaseable* commodities, just as much as kerosine oil is. This ignorance of a source of alcohol may have much to do 674 with the striking absence of crime in the country I refer to, and I mention it in passing, as worthy of consideration. On the other hand, I would again point out that owing to the rigidity of certain customs there is not the same scope for jealousy over women that plays such an important factor in crimes of violence in other parts of this Island. Again, it 361 should not be lost sight of that in the Vedda country small 674 groups of people congregate round centres where water, however limited in quantity and impure in quality, is to be found, and are therefore much more mutually dependent